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RHODE ISLAND

HISTORICAL TRACTS.

NO. 14.

Series 1.



PROVIDENCE:

SIDNEY S. RIDER,

1881.

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ROGER WILLIAMS'S
"Christenings make not Christians,"

ca 1666 - 1693

1645.

A long-lost tract recovered and exactly reprinted.

EDITED BY HENRY MARTYN DEXTER.

FOLLOWED BY CERTAIN

LETTERS WRITTEN BY ROGER WILLIAMS,

And believed to have been hitherto unpublished.

PROVIDENCE:
SIDNEY S. RIDER,
1881.

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1881.

Beacon Press: Thomas Todd, Printer, 1 Somerset Street, Boston.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

SOME years since, in studying Robert Baylie's *Dissuasive From the Errors of the Time*, I came upon three citations which he credits to "Williams, Of the name Heathen;" and since that time have diligently searched in every probable locality within reach for such a book; putting it last year, under this guessed title, into my "Bibliographical Collections," in the hope of so calling attention to, and finding, it. Almost my first opening of the Catalogue of the library of the British Museum the last winter was to Williams's name, trusting that, since former searches there, the missing treatise might have been added to their shelves by purchase, or exhumed from some as yet not fully assorted and described riches of the past. My endeavor was vain. But 26 March last, having occasion there to consult R. Fage's *Lawfulness of Infants Baptisme*, that treatise, whose press-mark is [E. 1189. (10)] came to my desk bringing with it, among the eight or ten pamphlets which had been bound together to construct the volume, the long-sought tract [E. 1189. (8)]. By some accident it had remained uncatalogued, and unknown to the authorities as being in their possession. I copied it with literal exactness; have had it reprinted page by page and line by line, in all its glory of misprint; and have procured the minute comparison of the proofs with the original by one of the experts of the Museum. So that—while making no claim to such pictorial accuracy as photo-lithography would secure—this edition of it is confidently offered to the few who will take an interest in it, as being, "to all intents and purposes," the same thing as the original in their hand. I have added a few foot-notes to clear up some of the worst cases of obscurity caused by the printer's carelessness, and probable want of authorial supervision.

Mr. Williams reached England on first revisiting his native land, in the midsummer of 1643. He must then have hurried to the press the *Key*, etc.—which had been mainly written on the voyage—as it appears to have come into Thomason's possession by 7 September of that year. *The Bloody Tenent*, etc., was written in London soon after, and by the same careful collector's endorsement, was on sale by 15 July, 1644—so that the author probably had opportunity to complete his revision of its proofs, and take a first copy with him when he sailed on the return voyage, to arrive in Boston 17 September of that year. In the “To the Reader” of the *Key*, etc. [p. 87, repr. *Nar. Club*] he said: “I shall further present you with a briefe Additionall discourse concerning this Great Point” [of the conversion of the Natives, etc.], which is unquestionably that here reprinted. The manuscript of this he probably left behind him in London to be published when opportunity should offer, as also that of his *Queries*, etc. It may perhaps be conjectured from his remark on p. 20 of the present volume, that it was his plan for the *Christenings*, etc., to be printed before the *Queries*. The latter proved to take precedence, inasmuch as the *Queries*, etc., reached Thomason's hands from the printer 8 Feb., 1644–5; while the *Christenings*, etc., lingered until 23 Jan. following [1645–6].

Among many points of interest herein, the general tenor of the discussion will be found to be characteristically evangelical, and for that time charitable; his reference [p. 19] to his “worthy Countrymen in the Bay of Massachusel” pleasant; his suggestion [p. 20] as to the source of “power and authority” of a “true sending” for a Christian teacher significant and prophetic; and his tender references “to the poore Natives” of a keeping with the entire character of one of the most unique, and, with all his faults, most useful and fascinating men of his generation.

H. M. D.

Greystones, New Bedford, 1 Sept., 1881.

Christenings

make not

CHRISTIANS,

OR

A Briefe Discourse concerning that
name *Heathen*, commonly given to
the INDIANS.

*As also concerning that great point of their
CONVERSION.*



Published according to Order.

London, Printed by Jane Coe, for I. H. 1645.



A

*Briefe Discourse concerning
that name*

HEATHEN

*Commonly given to
the Indians.*

As also concerning that great
point of their conversion.



Shall first be humbly bold to inquire into the name *Heathen*, which the English give them, & the Dutch approve and practise in their name *Heddenen*, signifying Heathen or Nations.

How oft have I heard both the English and Dutch (not onely the civill, but the most ded bauche-

A discourse concerning

bauched and profane) fay, These *Heathen* Dogges, better kill a thousand of them then that we *Christians* should be indangered or troubled with them; Better they were all cut off, & then we shall be no more troubled with them: They have spilt our *Christian* bloud, the best way to make riddance of them, cut them all off, and so make way for Christians.

I shall therefore humbly intreat my country-men of all sorts to consider, that although men have used to apply this word *Heathen* to the Indians that go naked, and have not heard of that One-God, yet this word *Heathen* is most improperly sinfully, and unchristianly so used in this fence. The word *Heathen* signifieth no more then *Nations* or *Gentiles*; so do our Translations from the Hebrew כָּלִים and the Greeke ἔθνη, in the old and New Testament promiscuously render theſe words *Gentiles*, *Nations*, *Heathens*.

Why *Nations*? Because the Iewes being the onely People and Nation of God, esteem'd (and that rightly) all other People, not onely those that went naked, but the famous BABYLONIANS, CALDEANS, MEDES, and PERSIANS, GREEKES and ROMANES, their ſtately Cities and Citizens, inferiorion themſelves, and not partakers of their

their glorious privileges, but Ethnicke, Gentiles, Heathen, or the Nations of the world.

Now then we must enquire who are the People of God, his *holy nation*, since the coming of the Lord Iefus, and the rejection of his first typicall holy Nation the Iewes.

It is confess by all, that the CHRISTIANS the followers of Iefus, are now the onely People of God, his *holy nation*, &c. ἐθνος ἄγιον
1. Pet. 2. 9.

Who are then the *nations, heathen, or gentiles*, in opposition to this *People of God*? I answer, All People, *civilized* as well as *uncivilized*, even the most famous States, Cities, and the Kingdomes of the World: For all must come within that distinction. 1. Cor. 5. *within or without.*

Within the People of God, his Church at CORINTH: Without the City of CORINTH worshipping Idols, and so consequently all other People, HEATHENS, or NATIONS, opposed to the People of God, the true Iewes: And therefore now the naturall Iewes themselves, not being of this People, are Heathens Nations or Gentiles. Yea, this will by many hands be yeelded, but what say you to the *Christian world?* What say you to *Christ endome?* I answer, what do you thinke Peter or

or *John*, or *Paul*, or any of the first Messengers of the Lord Iefus; Yea if the Lord Jesus himselfe were here, (as he will be shortly) and were to make answer, what would they, what would he fay to a CHRISTIAN WORLD? To CHRISTENDOME? And otherwise then what He would speak, that is indeed what he hath spoken, and will shortly speake, must no man speak that names himselfe a Christian.

*Herdious** in his Map of his CHRISTIAN WORLD takes in all *Asia*, *Europe*, a vaste part of *Africa*, and a great part also of *America*, so far as the Popes Christnings have reached to.

This is the CRISSION WORLD, or Christendome, in which respect men stand upon their tearmes of *high opposition* between the CHRISTIAN and the TURKE, (the Christian shore, and the Turkish shore) betweene the CHRISTIANS of this Christian WORLD and the JEVV, and the CHRISTIAN and the HEATHEN, that is the naked *American*.

But since *Without* is turned to be *Within*, the WORLD turned CHRISTIAN, and atheitl flock[†] of *SESVS CHRIST* hath mforvellously increased in such wonderfull

* Hondius. [Ed.] † the little flock, etc., hath so marvellously. [Ed.]

full conversions, let me be bold to aske what is Christ? What are the Christians? The Hebrew קָרְבָּן, and the Greeke χριστος will tell us that Christ was and in* the *Anointed* of God, whom the Prophets and Kings and preists of Israel in their *anoiuatings* did prefigure and type out; whence his followers are called χριστιανοι christians, that is *Anointed* also: So that indeed to be a *christian* implices two things, first, to be afollower of that anointed one in all his Offices; secondly, to pertake of his anointings, for the Anointing of the Lord Jesus (like to the anointings of AARON, to which none might make the like on pain of death) descend to the skirt of his garments.

To come nearer to this Chrition world, (where the world becomes christian holy, anointed, Gods People, &c.) what faith Iohn? What faith the Angel? Yea, What faith Iesus Christ and his Father (from whom the Revelation came Revel. i. i.?) What say they uuto the Beast and his Worshippers Revel. 13.

If that beast be not the *Turke*, northe *Roman Emperour* (as the grofest interpret^t but either the generall councells, or the catholike church of *Rome*, or the Popes or Papacy

A4

*is. [Ed.]

† The hyphen should be the final hook of the parenthesis. [Ed.]

cy (as the most refined interpret) why then all the *world*, *Revel.* 13. ὅλη ἡ γῆ wonders after the *Beast*, worships the *Beast*, followeth the *Beast*, and boasts of the *Beast*, that there is none like him, and all People, Tongues, and Nations, come under the power of this *Beast*, & no man shall buy nor sell, nor live, who hath not the marke of the *Beast* in his *Fore-head*, or in his hand, or the number of his name.

If this *world* or *earth* then be not intended of the whole terrestriall Globe, *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*, (which fence and experience denyes) but of the *Roman earth*, or world, and the People, Languages, and Nations, of the *Roman Monarchy*, transferred from the *Roman Emperour* to the *Roman Popes*, and the Popish *Kingdomes*, branches of that ROMAN-ROOT, (as all *history* and consent of time make evident.)

Then we know by this time what the Lord Iefus would say of the Christian world and of the *Christian*: Indeed what he saith *Revel.* 14. If any man worship the *Beast* or his *picture*, he shall drinke &c. even the dread fullest cup that the whole Booke of God ever held forth to sinners.

Grant this, say some of *Popish* Countries,
that

that notwithstanding they make up Christendome, or Christian world, yet submitting to that *Beast*, they are the *earth* or *world* and must drinke of that most dreadfull cup: But now for those nations that have withdrawn their necks from that *beastly yoke*, & protesting against him, are not Papists, but Protestants, shall we, may we thinke of them, that they, or any of them may also be called (in true Scripture fence) *Heathens*, that is Nations or Gentiles, in opposition to the People of God, which is the onely holy Nation.

I answer, that all Nations now called *Protestants* were at first part of that whole Earth, or main (**A N T I C H R I S T I A N**) Continent, that wondered after, worshipped the *Beast*, &c. This must then with holy feare and trembling (because it concernes the KINGDOME of God, and salvation) be attended to, Whether such a departure from the *Beast*, and coming out from **A N T I C H R I S T I A N** abominations, from his markes in a false conversion, and a false constitution, or framing of **NATIONA L L C H V R C H E S** in false **M I N I S T E R I E S**, and ministrations of **B A P T I S M E**, *Supper of the Lord*, *Admonitions*, *Excommunications* as

as amounts to a true perfect Iland, cut off from that Earth which wonderd after and worshipped the *Beast*: or whether, not being so cut off, they remaine not *Peninſulā* or necks of land, contiguous and joyned still unto his *Christendome*? If now the bodies of Protestant Nations remaine in an unre-Pentant, unregenerate, naturall estate, and so consequently farre from hearing the admonitions of the Lord Jesus, Math 18. I say they must sadly consider and know (least their profession of the name of Jesus prove at last but an aggravation of condemnation) that Christ Jesus hath said, they are but as *Heathens and Publcaneſ*, verſ. 17. How might I therefore humbly beseech my country men to consider what deepe cause they have to ſearch their conversions from that *Beast* and his *Piſture*?* And whether having no more of Christ then the name (beside the invented wayes of worship, derived from, or drawn after *Romes pattern*) their hearts and converſations will not evince them unconverted and *unchrīſtian Christians*, and not yet knowing what it is to come by true Regeneration within, to the true spirituall Jew from without amongst the Nations, þat[†] is *Heathens or Gentiles*.

How

* picture ("image" in Rev. xiii). [Ed.] † that. [Ed.]

How deeply and eternally this concerns each soule to search into! yea, and much more deeply such is* professe to be Guides, Leaders, and Builders of the H o v s e of G o d .

First, as they look to *Formes* and *Frame* of Buildings, or Churches.

Secondly, as they attend to *Meanes* and *Instruments*, &c.

Thirdly, as they would lay sure Foundations; and lasting Groundsells.[†]

Fourthly, as they account the cost and charge such bnlidings will amount unto.

Fifthly, so they may not forget the true spirituall matter and mateials of which a true House, Citty, Kingdome, or Nation of of God, now in the new Testament are to be composed or gathered.

Now Secondly, for the hopes of C O N V E R S I O N , and turning the People of *America* unto God: There is no respect of Persons with him, for we are all the worke of his hands; from the rising of the Sunne to the going downe thereof, his name shall be great among the nations from the East & and from the West, &c. If we respect their sins, they are far short of *European* sinners: They neither abuse such corporall mercies for

*as. [Ed.] †sills, foundation timbers. [Ed.]

for they have them not; nor sin they against the Gospell light, (which shines not amongst them) as the men of *Europe* do: And yet if they were greater sinners then they are, or greater sinners then the *Europeans*, they are not the further from the great *Ocean* of mercy in that respect.

Lastly, they are intelligent, many very ingenuous, plaine-hearted, inquisitive and (as I said before) prepared with many convictions, &c.

Now seconddly, for the Catholicks conversion, although I believe I may safely hope that God hath his in Rome, in Spaine, yet if Antichrist be their false head (as most true it is) the body, faith, baptisme, hope (opposite to the true, Ephes. 4.) are all false also; yea consequently their preachings, conversions, salvations (leaving secret things to God) must all be of the same false nature likewise.

If the reports (yea some of their owne *Historians*) be true, what monstrous and most inhumane conversions have they made; baptizing thousands, yea ten thousands of the poore Natives, sometimes by wiles and subtle devices, sometimes by force compelling them to submit to that which

which they understood not, neither before nor after such their monstrous Christning of them. Thirdly, for our *New-england* parts, I can speake uprightly and confidently, I know it to have been easie for my selfe, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these Natives, yea the whole country, to a far greater Antichristian conversion then ever was yet heard of in *America*. I have reported something in the Chapter of their *Religion*,* how readily I could have brought the whole Country to have obserued one day in seven; I adde to have received a *Baptisme* (or washing) though it were in *Rivers* (as the first *Christians* and the Lord Iesus himselfe did) to have come to a *stated Church meeting*, maintained priests and formes of prayer, and a whole forme of *Antichristian* worship in life and death. Let none wonder at this, for *playable perswations* in the mouths of those whom naturall men esteem and love: for the power of prevailing forces and armies hath done this in all the *Nations* (as men speake) of *Christendome*. Yea what lamentable experience have we of the *Turnings* and *Turnings* of the *body* of this Land in point of Religion in few yeares?

When *England* was all *Popish* under Henry
the

* *Key*, etc., chap. xxi, p. 129. [Ed.]

the seventh, how easie is conversion wrought to halfe Papist halfe-Protestant under *Henry* the eighth?

From halfe-Protestanisme halfe-Popery under *Henry* the eight, to absolute Protestanisme under Edward the sixth: from absoluuer Protestation under *Edward* the sixt to absolute popery under *Quegne Mary*, and from absolute Popery under *Queene Mary*, (just like the Weather-cocke, with the breathy of every Prince) to absolute Protestanisme under *Queene Elizabeth &c.*

For all this, yet some may aske, why hath there been such a price in my hand not improved? why have I not brought them to such a conversion as I speake of? I answer, woe be to me, if I call light darknesse, or darknesse light; sweet bitter, or bitter sweet; woe be to me if I call that conversion unto God, which is indeed subversion of the soules of Millions in *Christendome*, from one false worship to another, and the prophanation of the holy name of God, his holy Son and blessed Ordinances* *America* (as *Europe* and all nations) lyes dead ic^t sin and trespasses: It is not a suite of crimson Satten will make a dead man live, take off and change his crimson into white
he

* Insert period. [Ed.] † in. [Ed.]

he is dead still, off with that, and shift him into cloth of gold, and from that to cloth of diamonds, he is but a dead man still: For it is not a forme, nor the change of one forme into another, a finer, and a finer, and yet more fine, that makes a man a convert I meane such a convert as is acceptable to God in Jesus Christ, according to the visible Rule of his last will and Testament. I speake not of Hypocrites, (which may but glister, and be no solid gold as *Simon Magus, Judas &c.*) But of a true externall conaersion; I say then, woe be to me if intending to catch men (as the Lord Jesus said to *Peter*) I should pretend conversion) and the bringing of men as mystical fish, into a *Church-estate*, that is a converted estate, and so build them up with *Ordinances* as a converted Christian People, and yet afterward still pretend to catch them by an after conversion. I question not but that it hath pleased God in his infinit pitty and patience, to suffer this among us, yea and to covert* thousands, whom all men, yea and the persons (in their personall estates converted) have esteemed themselves good converts before.

But I question whether this hath been so frequent

*convert. [Ed.]

A discourse concerning

frequent in these late yeares, when the times of ignorance (which God pleafeth to passe by) are over, and now a greater light concerning the Church, Ministery, and conversion, is arisen. I question whether if such rare talents, which God hath betrusted many of his precious Worthies with, were laid out (as they shall be in the Lord's most holy season) according to the first pattern; I say, I question whether or no, where there hath been one (in his personall estate converted) there have not been, and I hope in the Lords time shall be, thousands truly converted from *Antichristian Idols* (both in *person* and *worship*) to serve the living and true God.

And lastly, it is out of question to me, that I may not pretend a *false conversion*, and *false state of worship*, to the true Lord Iefus.

If any noble Berean shall make inquiry what is that true conversion I intend; I answer first negatively.

First, it is not a conversion of a People from one false worship to another, as *Nebuchadnezzar* compeld all Nations under his Monarchy.

Secondly, it is not to a mixture of the manner or worship of the true God, the God

God of Israel, with false gods & their worships, as the People were converted by the King of *Affyria*, 2, Kin. 17. in which worship for many Generations did these *Samaritans* continue, having a forme of many wholsome truths amongst them, concerning God and the *Messiah*, Ioh. 4.

Thirdly, it is not from the true to a false, as *I E R E B O A M* turned the ten Tribes to their ruine and dispersion unto this day, 1. *Kin. 12.*

Fourthly, it must not be a conversion to some externall submision to Gods Ordinances upon earthly respects, as *I A C O B S* sons converted the *Sichemites*, *Gen. 34.*

Fiftly it mustnot be, (it is not possible it should be in truth) a conversion of People to the woship of the Lord *Iefus*, by force of Armes and swords of steele: So indeed did *Nebuchadnezzar* deale with all the world, *Dan. 3.* so doth his *Antitype* and *successor* the *Beast* deal with all the earth, *Rev. 13.* &c.

But so did never the Lord *Iefus* bring any unto his most pure worship, for he abhorres (as all men, yea the very *Indians* doe) an unwilling Spouse, and to enter into a forced bed: The will in worship, if true, is like

like a free Vote, *nec cogit, nec cogitur*: I E-
SVS C H R I S T compells by the mighty
perswasions of his Messengers to come in,
but otherwise with earthly weapons he never
did compell nor can be compelled.

The not discerning of this ttuth* hath let
out the bloud of thousands in civill com-
bustions in all ages; and made the whore
drunke, & the Earth drunk with the bloud
of the Saints, and witnesses of Iefus.

And it is yet like to be the destruction &
and dissolution of (that which is called) the
Christian world, unlesse the God of peace
and pity looke downe upon it, and satisfy
the soules of men, that he hath not so requi-
red. I should be far yet from unsecuring the
peace of a City, of a Land, (which I confesse
ought to be maintained by civill weapons, &
which I have so much cause to be earnest
with God for;) Nor would I leave a gap o-
pen to any mutinous hand or tongue, nor
wish a weapon left in the hand of any known
to be mutinous and peace-breakers.

I know (lastly) the consciences of many
are otherwise perswaded, both from Israels
state of old, and other Allegations; yet I
shall be humbly bold to say, I am able to pre-
sent such considerations to the eyes of all
who

*truth. [Ed.]

who love the Prince of truth and Peace, that shall discover the weaknesse of all such allegations, and answer all objections, that have been, or can be made in this point. So much negatively.

Secondly, affirmatively: I answer in generall, A true Conversion (whether of *Americans* or *Europeans*) must be such as those Conversions were of the first pattern, either of the Iewes or the Heathens; That Rule is the golden *Mece wand** in the hand of the Angell or Messenger, *rev.* 11. 1. beside which all other are leaden and crooked.

In particular: First, it must be by the free proclaiming or preaching of Repentance & forgivenesse of sins. *Luk.* 24. by such Messengers as can prove their lawfull sending and Commission from the Lord Iefus, to make Disciples out of all nations: and so to baptize or wash them *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* into the name or *profession* of the holy Trinity, *Mat.* 28. 19 *Rom.* 10. 14. 15.

Secondly, such a conversion (so farre as mans Judgement can reach which is fallible, (as was the judgement of the first Messengers, as in *Simon Magus*, &c.) as is a turning of the whole man from the power of *Sathan* unto God, *a&t;* 26. Such a change, as if an old man became a new Babe B 2 *Ioh.*

* Metewand, measuring rod. [Ed.]

Ioh. 3. yea, as amounts to Gods new creation in the foule, *Ephes.* 2. 10.

Thirdly, Visibly it is a turning from Idols not only of *conversation* but of *worship* (whether *Pagan*, Turkish, Jewish, or *ANTI-CHRISTIAN*) to the Living and true God in the waies of his holy worship, appointed by his Son, *i Thes.* 1. 9.

I know Objections use to be made against this, but the *golden Rule*, if well attended to, will discover all crooked *swervings* and *aberrations*.

If any now say unto me, Why then if this be *Conversion*, and you have such a *Key of Language*, and such a dore of *opportunity*, in the knowledge of the Country and the inhabitants, why proceed you not to produce in *America* some patternes of such conversations as you speake of?

I answere, first, it must be a great deale of practise, and mighty paines and hardship undergone by my selfe, or any that would proceed to such a further degree of the *Language*, as to be able in propriety of speech to open matters of salvation to them.

In matters of Earth men will helpe to spell out each other, but in matters of Heaven (to which the soule is naturally so averse) how

how far are the Eares of man hedged up from listening to all improper Language?

Secondly, my desires and endeavours are constant (by the helpe of God) to attaine a propriety of Language.

Thirdly, I confesse to the honour of my worthy Countrymen in the *Bay of Massachusetts*, and elsewhere, that I received not long since expressions of their holy desires and proffers of assistance in the worke, by the hand of my worthy friend Colonell *Humphreys*, during his abode there.

Yet fourthly, I answer, if a man were as affectionate and zealous as *David* to build an house for God, and as wife and holy to advise and incourage, as *Nathan*,* attempt this worke without a *Word*, a *Warrant* and *Commission*, for matter, and manner, from God himselfe, they must afterwards heare a voice (though accepting good desires, yet reproving want of Commission) *Did I ever speak a word saith the Lord? &c. 2. Sam. 7. 7.*

The truth is, having not been without (through the mercy of God) abundant and constant thoughts about a true Commission for such an Embassie and Ministry.[†] I must ingenuously confess the restlesse unsatisfiednesse of my soule in divers *main particulars*:

As

B3

*yet should he? [Ed.] †no period. [Ed.]

As first, ~~if~~ whether (since the *Law* must go forth from *Zion*, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*) I say whether Gods great businesse between Christ Iesus the holy Son of God and Antichrist the man of sin and Sonne of perdition, must not be first over, and *Zion* and *Jerusalem* be re-built and re-established, before the *Law* and word of life be sent forth to the rest of the Nations of the World, who have not heard of Christ: The Prophets are deep concerning this.

Secondly since there can be no preaching (according to the last Will and Testament of Christ Iesus) without a true sending *Rom. 14. 15* ~~if~~ Where the power and authority of *sending* and *giving* that *Commission* *Math. 28* &c. I say* where that power now lyes?

It is here unseasonable to number up all that lay claime to this *Power*, with their grounds for their pretences, either those of the *Romish* sort, or those of the *Reforming* or *Re-building* sort, and the mighty controversies which are this day in all parts about it: in due place (haply) I may present such sad *Querries* to consideration, that may occasion some to cry with DANIEL (concerning *SALEM*'s desolation *Dan. 9.*) *Under the*

*the question is? [Ed.]

*the whole Heaven hath not been done, as hath
been done to I E R V S A L E M : and with I E-
R E M Y in the same respect, Lam. 2. 12. Have
you no respect all you that passe by, behold and
see if there were ever sorrow like to my sorrow,
wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the
day of his fierce wrath.*

That may make us ashamed for all that
wee have done, *Ezek. 43* and loath our
selves, for that (in whorish worships) wee
have broken him with our whorish hearts
Ezek. 9. To fall dead at the feet of I E S V S,
Rev. 1. as I O H N did, and to weepe much as
hee *Rev. 5.* that so the LAMB may please to
open unto us that W O N D E R F U L L Book
and the seven S E A L E D M Y S T E R I E S
thereof.

Your unworthy Country-man
R O G E R W I L L I A M S .

F I N I S .

SOME LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Believed to have been hitherto unpublished.

[This letter printed by permission of Rhode Island Historical Society.]

Neighbor Whipple: * you cannot expect yt my
worne & withered Brains should keepe pace
with yo^r Fresh & youthful Fancie exprest in
yo^r 14 of this instant: yet I desire (as it is in
fruit ye Riper ye mellower) to returne you my
thoughts as to matter of Reason & Argum^{nt} in
ye fear of God.

First you say I calld Tho: Olny Jun^r, Brasen
fa^ct fellow & after ward you say I call him
Jackanapes & Devill.

I conceaue you doe mistake & wrong me in
both: you may easily see yt I repeated W. Har:
words who calld him Jackanapes boy in our
Towne meeting, and calls (not only wicked but
all) Magistrates Devils in his booke: who had
said that He Th: Olny jun was more brasen
fac'd then his father: I am far from saying or
thincking so with him: But it [is] grieving my
soul to see Tho: Olny jun, resolved. (with W.
Har) to run downe his poore neighbor^s in thyr
ancient & constant Liberties, I said with grief
of soul (saying yt nothing yt I nor others spake

* A preceding letter to Mr. Whipple appears in Nar. Club, v. 6,
p. 327. Both refer to letters from Mr. Whipple.

could moue him) y^t he had a face of Brasse indeede: And it is judged by many y^t had jt not been for Tho: Olny jun his willfullnes this great fire of Division about y^e 25 acre men had not broke forth amongst vs: Yor Father in Law, W. Har: & divers more declared themselves willing to end y^e contention, & to gratifie the 25 acre men: Only Tho. Olny jun^r pretended Law (as if every Law were Median & Persian &c) and droue on the Fire (as with a wind) to this day, amongst vs As to that saying y^t I was as a Right hand to y^e Sachims (& consequently had & might haue had whateuer I might rationally desire for this Plantation, had I not bene stopt by y^t envious vojce what is Ro: W^{ms}: we will haue present bounds set vs &c): My meaning is y^t y^e Report of the Nahigonsicks Riches, & Courtesy & Frjendlyness to me & other Heretiks kindled many hostile purposes & preparations agnst them in y^e English (especially of y^e Massachusets) y^t after (by my means) a peace was made & a Leauge betweene y^e English & Nahiggonike & y^e Pequ War finished many Jars rose dayly betweene y^e Nahiggonsicks & Onkas & his Monhiggins, & y^e English joyning (most unjustly) with Onkas I was continually sent for by y^e Sachims, consulted with & requested to write letters in thejr names, & my owne name, to all y^e 4 Colonies about vs

(especially y^e Massachusets) as also about y^e Answers & Replies & for the pravention of thejr forces comming vp (euen when vpon thejr march) & thence by reason of my great expence of tjme, my labo^rs & travells (having no horse) my hazards in canows & by Pequuts & Monhiggins &c the Natiues calld me thejr Right hand, thejr Candle & Lanthorne the Quencher of thejr Fires (though W. Har. scornd & envied saying any Body could write a Letter) &c: The Sachims & I were hurried (by y^e envy of some ag^{nst} my selfe) to those short bounds, by reason of y^e Indians then at Maushapog Notakunkanet & Pawtuckat beyond whom the Sachims could not then goe & Themselue & I could not be trusted without present bounds hurried on, to thejr Griefe & mine, & all or hindreance As to y^e 3rd sort of bounds viz of Grace & Fav^rs: you say they were nothing because the Sachims set them not, & therefore W. Wicken-dens Meadow sold to W. Field, was not within these Bounds, but belonged to y^e 20 mje Hould & Tenure.*

Ans: 1: Hence then W. Har: boundles bounds were nothing, because impossible to 2 be set & fix & (Hence our Gov^rm^{nt} & Civill

* This twenty mile tenure is contained in a confirmatory deed from the Sachems who succeeded Canonicus and Miantonomi. The deed appears in full in R. I. Col. Rec. v., p. 35.

order w^{ch} at first both here & at Rode Iland we kept vp vpon Grace & Favo^r (vntill God was pleased to helpe me to procure a charter from y^e Parliam^t) was all mere nothings & nullities & we liu'd in no order but Rout (as W. Har. his Bruits, as he calls all y^t cross him)

3 Then must you call W. Har: his Seat at Parliam^t Nothing because neuer setled by y^e Sachims (but many ways opposed had not I satisfied Sachims & people to my cost)

4 Then must you call many thouhs and Actions founded vpon meere Grace & Favo^r nothings & nullities As thus, a neighbor takes his neighbo^{rs} Axe, How, cano it lying vnvsed for his neede (without his neighbo^{rs} consent being not present) & promiseth to make good vpon demand any dammage or just demand in these & many other cases where y^e thing presum'd on & taken lies dead & the owner is my frjend, & absent: My neede js present & my willingnes to satisfie all just Demandns is professed & declar'd: what shew of sence js there to call these nullities, when such was our Townes case, as Chad: Browne & others then & all (y^t) be not willfully froward) may discerne in this our wilernes condition: especially having such a Grant & Favo^r from y^e Sachims as so many of the Engl knew I had with y^e Nahigonsick Sachims

5 When euen y^e Natiuies haue desir'd satis-

faction, (as knowing yt we haue exceeded ye Bounds set vs by ye Sachims) we haue satisfied them: Thus did W. Field with Wuttapocamin & Anittuwont: thus did Tho: Clements with Wesauamog for his meadow: & thus haue done others & thus did I out of my owne purse for W. Har. his being at Pachaset, though how I haue bene rewarded God knows & many also are Witneses

6 Therefore I am sorry yt you venture to play with the fire and W. Wickenden his tosting himselfe in jt, & my want of Tongs to rake him out without burning my fingers &c You know who jt js yt Counts you & vs Fools for believing ye Scrip: viz: yt there shall be any Hell at all or punishment for sin after this Life: But I am Content to be a Fool with Christ Jesus who tells us of an account for euery idle word in ye day of Judg'mt.

4 As to ye 4th Sort of Bounds without Bounds (by W. Har & yourselves) pretended: & yt saying yt I establish 20 miles of these bounds because Warwick pretends 20 mile *

* By a reference to the original deed of Warwick this is explained: "Know all men that I Myantinomy cheefe Sachem of the Nanhegan-sett have soould unto the persons here named one parsell of lands with all the rights and privileges thereof what soever lyinge uppon the west syde of that part of the sea called Sowhomes Bay from Copassene-tuxett over against a little island in the said Bay being the north bounds and the outermost point of that neck of land called Thawhomett; being the south bound ffrom the sea shoare of each boundary uppon a straight lyne westword twentie miles."

I ans: By ye Sachims grant to me of an abundant sufficiencie to myselfe & my Frjends (for those were ye Tearms (& in reason — can not be jmagind otherwise) I neuer vnderstood infinite & boundles matters, no nor 20 miles, but what was of realty Counted sufficient for any plantation or town in the Country,

2 As to Warwicks 20 mile I euen tooke jt to be a mistake (like many other grand mistakes betweene ye English & ye Natives

3 If it were so & true at Warwick yet (as I said before ye Sachims & myselfe neuer intended such vast & monstrous businesses but what was usually allowed to ye biggest Townes in N. Engl

4 What js 20 mile to boundles bounds? for, as for ye 20 mile y^t I conceaue to be but a second cheat whereby ye Devill both cheats himselfe & W. Har: & ye Towne also: For if infinite illimited or boundles bounds be due, why should 20 mile satisfie when 1'0000 miles & infinitely more js demanded? Who (takes) 20 for 20000 & infinitely more? O y^t men should be so blinded, wilfully hoodwinkt for a little dish of porridge w^{ch} is all y^t this whole Globe of this World can give vs?

5 It Speaks a Guilt in ye breast of W. Harris, & his Disciples, when like thieues & cheato^{rs} selling a Siluer Cup, a gold ring or a Watch

they are content with 20^d for 20 pounds & (according to ye prouerbe Light come Light goe) Alas what is 20 miles to thousands of thousands without bound on limits just like ye Generalists who make Gods Mercy & justice (by thejr wresting of some Scriptures (as they doe our wrtings) to be Nonsensicall whimsies without any Bounds or Order?

6 Is not this Notoriously knowne yt W. Har. vrged yt Poor Beast Kachayaquond (& other Sachims) after him to confirme only what Miantonomoa had granted to Rv: Willjams w^{ch} was vnder y Sachims hands? they not jimagining any such Jugling to be intended by English Men (who calld themselues children of God & Christjans) and yt any boundles Grants were comprized! They were easily willing (especially for Wompam Sake) to confirme what was granted to Roger Williams by Miantasnomia (dead & gone,) as knowing yt ye Bounds were knowne to themselues & the Natives round about vs, who therefore cried Commootin,* Commootin: when euen we haue exceeded ye Bounds in ye Sachims deed expressed:

* Commotin, as R. W. spells it, means "to steal," or as a noun, "stealing." In Williams's letter to Gov. Leverett, Oct., 1675, he wrote, "I tould the young Prince [Canonchet] all their war is commootin they have commootind our Howses, our Cattell our Heads &c and yt not by their Artillerie but our Weapons." [Note by J. H. Trumbull, LL. D., Narr. Club, v. 1, p. 165. Also, v. 6, p. 375.]

7 I stand amazed at not only ye Conscience, Godlynes & Christianitie but at yt Moralitie, Civilitie, & Humanitie of such who force vpon a poor barbarjans Concession & graunt of a small kindnes y w^{ch} no man in any shew of Reason can thinck he thought of, nor no no English Man had any Imaginatjon of at yt time

8 It js no less Prodigious & Wonderfull to me how they can squeeze out a Confirmacion from ye Surviving Sachims of what Miantan-noma (only one Sachim & less then Canounicus by them is sajd to haue granted: I say squeeze a Confirmacion of what had no Realitie, no more then Dreams & Castles built in ye Aire: just like ye Popes Confirmacion *Tu es Petra* & therefore ye Popes haue Authoritie ouer all Cleargie Men & Churches, Kings & Emperors: *Hoc est or p̄is meum* This is my Body & therefore there js no Bread Left but only Flesh & Blood &c & like ye pleading from some generall words in Scripture of Gods goodnes to ye whole world therefore let men doe what they will (like Devills here) yet there is no punishm^{nt} for Men & Devills, but all [torn] Debts are paid by Christ Jesus Contrary not only to Gods revealed Records but to ye Light of human Reason & to ye Confessions of all Mankind all y World ouer

9: Whereas you make jt my envy to W. Har:
 blinding mine eyes & I ans: Envy js one thing:
 Anger & Wrath js another: I wish there were
 such excellencies in W. Har: yt any sober man
 man might be said to haue a Temptacion to
 envy him for them

2 Were he neuer so excellent: I hope I haue
 learnt (aboue these 50 years) not to wrong my
 Judgm^{nt} & Conscience in giving a Testi-
 mony ag^{nst} any in any case though jt were to
 ye^e winning of ye^e whole world, or ye^e saving of my
 Life jt selfe.

10 Whereas you say Cap: Fenner & W.
 Wick: were instrumentall in y^e transactjons
 of ye^e 20 mile busines: I ans: Capt. Fenner &
 W. Wick: were not ye^e first whom God hath
 bene pleased to suffer to be catcht in W. Har:
 bewitching traps:

2 God hath bene pleased to pluck out these
 2 & many others out of yt horrible pit in w^{ch}
 yo^rselus yet lye bewitched. As to Cap: Fenner,
 whether jt were ye^e busines of a few Rajlers yt
 occasioned his breach with W. Har. (as some
 say) (in w^{ch} busines Arth: Fenner complains
 of W. Har: his treacherous wrong ag^{nst} him
 to this day:) Or, whether jt was W. Har: his
 base & reproachfull vsage of him when re-
 fusing to attest to some bounds (w^{ch} Arth.
 Fenner could not in Conscience yeald too)

he Cald Arthur Fenner false fellow, Rouge & Rascall &c (after all his Service & Drudgerie pformed for him) Or what euer else else were y^e Occasion w^{ch} God was pleased to awaken Cap: Fenner with (as I hope he will yorselus) & to set him to 3 reflect on his worck w^{ch} he had bene about, as allso on y man who had thus vsed him as a slaye or neger: surely he came to be fully satisfied in his Soule & Conscience y^t jt was not publike commonweale worch y^t he had bene engaged in, but for W. Har: private ends, designs & plots: I desire others may come to see what Cap: Fenner hath 4 seene, yea y^t w^m Har. (if God so please) may come to see jt himselfe least (too late) he wish y^t he had neuer seene Providence, nor N. E. nor y world jt selfe.

5 As to y^e Terriblenes of this fourth sort of Bounds w^{ch} you Call y^e Monster with 4 Heads or 7 heads &c

Ans: I conceaue you misse: for, there may be many collaterall confirmations of y^e same Graunt & yet not be so many Heads: there may be many Braces to an House or Ship — many strings to a Bow & yet not all of them (nor any of them) accounted Heads, Essentialls, Fundamentalls

2 As to y^e Terrows^s of this fourth sort of Bounds like Dan: i 4th Beast: I conceaue jt

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monstrous & terrible because without Bounds or Lymits, a Beast w^{ch} puts all men vpon Amazem^{nt}, yt consideres of jt, & ye Machivilian Land Monger js forced to cast a cloake of 20 mile over jt, to keepe ye horrid visage of Boundles bounds from Scaring & affrighting all yt shall behold jt.

2 It is a terrible Beast Not only tearing our Peace & Neighborhood in pieces, but jt Spits fire & Spreads fire & Sets the Townes on Fire, & ye whole Colony alsono vnles the merifull Lo: please most wonderfully to quench it

3 It js a terrible Beast daring to lift vp his head & hornes in blasphemey agnst ye God of Heaven: What God can yt be, say ye Indjans, yt is followed by such Extortioners, Cheats & Lyers as his Servants & Worshippers? For my selfe jt js a terrible matter in mine eyes yt (besides ye many cries of ye English) ye cry of these Barbarjans *Commoontin Commoontin* should knock at Heaven gate ag^{nst} vs:

3 I beljeue jt will be terrible & dreadfull in ye Eyes & Thoughts of the Chiefe Creators & maintainers of this monstrous beast in ye Latter End: I loue & honour^r ye memorie of Zach: Rodes as much as any: Yet I believe he had dolefull thoughts, when God was pleased so suddenly so wonderfully & dreadfully to drieve him off from Pawtuxet shoare: O how terri-

ble must y^e sight of this monster, & his vnchristjan Contentjons (& Law vexatjons about jt) be to his dying Thoughts & Spirits? Thinck what you please & dare: For myselfe I dare not but hope y^t he was resolued if God would once haue pleased to suffer his foote on Pawtuxet Land againe he would have endeauoured to dash out y^e Brains of this dreadful monster. I haue charitable Thoughts of y^e Eternall Welfare of Zach: Rhodes & yet I thinck jt borders neere on practicall Athejsme to slight so terrible & dreadfull a vojce & Hand of God as some doe. Whereas you Comforted yor selfe in your Innocencie ag^{nst} my Clamorous Toung: And I had answered y^t a woman being forced y^t cries not out (but so far consents as to be a silent) js a Whore before God & men &c you here reply y^t you were the ravished woman, for you were in peace &c but yor Aduersaries y^e Ravishers lay in ambush & came suddenly vpon you saying y^t y^e 25 acre men* had pajd an Equall peny

* The following agreement explains the reference to the Twenty-five acre men.

"The 19th of 11 mo 1645 [January 19, 1645-6]

"We whose names are hereafter subscribed having obtained a free grant of Twenty Five acres of land apiece with the right of commoning according to the said proportion of lands from the free inhabitants of this town of Providence do thankfully accept of the same and do hereby promise to yield active or passive obedience to the authority of [King and Parliament] established in this Colony according to our

& there fore should haue equall purchase: & others saying yt the Towne of Prouidence had purchased Land & therefore Pawtuxet men should not cary it from them

I answer Our peace was like ye peace of a man w^{ch} hath a tertjan Ague

1 Euery other day, yea sometimes euery meeting we were all on fire & had a terrible burning fit ready to come to blowes about our Lines, about our Lands & ye 25 Acre Men & Purchasers as yo^r selues then confessed; Euen young Tho: Olny himselfe as can be evidenced if any should desire a proofe of so knowne a matter.

2 What matter of force was there in Mr Dexters 3 proposalls for peace & Accomodatjon? Were they not honest, equall & peaceable to any yt minded not thejr owne Cabins more Then the Common Good of our poore tossed Barke & Vessell?

3 Although jt be true yt you were in a kind of peace when you cast Lots (& I both at yt present witnessed agst ye prophaning of Gods Wopp (w^{ch} a Lott js) & afterward wrote my Reasons & tendered one Paper to Cap: Fenner

Charter and to all such wholesome laws and orders that are or shall be made by the major consent of the Town of Providence, as also, not to claim any right to the purchase of the said plantations nor any privilege of vote in town affaers until we shall be received as freemen of the said Town of Providence." [Staples's *Annals*, p. 60.]

& another to Mr Olny Sen^r:) yet since y^t very time we haue had no Peace, for God jmmedj-
atly kindled this Fire against vs

4 Whereas you blame me for padling in such stuff: viz in Rapes & crying out &c I pray you take heede how you speake so—slightly & reproachfully of y^e Langwage of y^e Spirit of God in Scripture, for you know y^t not only False worshippers are called Idolaters & Whores in Scripture Censure, but all y^t turne aside from y^e chast Loue of God to the Loue of y^e World & the things thereof.

5 Wherein haue or neigbor^s forced you? Euen in y^t matter wherein you haue so vnchristianly accused & indicted them before y^e Worlds Tribunall: It js dolefull and dreadfull to see y^e Professo^rs of y^e name of Jesus (agreeing agⁿst y^e Jewish Turkish Popish & Protestant Idolls, & practising so neerly y^e christian Wopp) to cherish such vnchristian Heats & Bitternes about Trifells &c Grant there haue bene discourses & Agitacions many about y^e Lands & Purchasers: yet js jt not reasonable & righteous in all mens Eyes y^t since there are so many Purchasers who ordinarily doe not & others y^t will not come to y^e Towne meeting, yet thejr consent should be had & the consent of y^t majoritie should determine the matters of thejr purchase & oblige the minor differing from

them? I vnderstand not yet of y^e dammage
of a farthing y^t any of you haue sustajned, or
are like to doe from these whome you count
yo^r aduersaries.

6 Lastly whereas you object^{an} whole Cata-
louge of Lyes in y^e Remonstrance (or cry ag^{nst}
yo^r force vsed vpon vs:) yo^r Conscience knows
y^t you had a fairer Libertie & oppourtunitie
(once & twice) offerd you to giue but y^e instance
of one, w^{ch} I believe you are not able to doe
No questjon but all humans Affaires (y^e most
Righteous & most righteously caried) are sub-
ject to Errors & Mistakes But as to these mat-
ters I haue desired to be diligent in mine owne
obseruation & Inquisitjon: & how euer you vse
the Prouerbe ag^{nst} me Old in Wickedness &c
yet my humble hope is, y^t God will more &
more vindicate my Righteousnes (as to y^e mat-
ters wherein you reproach) me as the noone
day: For my selfe I can truely say as holy
Bradford sajd [Lord Thou art Heauen & I am
Hell] but through his grace I haue bene also
able to say with David, I hate & abhor Lying
but this Law doe I Loue: & of y^t his Grace
hath helpt me to giue some testimonie in Old
& N. Engl: in what I have forsaken & suffered
for his Names Sake & wherein I see not, I can
vprightly say with Job: what I see not teach
thou me: I hope by his mercy to be able to

retract any mistake as gladly as to be saved by Jesus from ye wrath y^t js to come: I haue bene vsed to beare Censures & Reproaches for Truths Sake for reproving & witnessing ag^{nst} ye Worcks of Darkenes aboue these 50 yeares: I humbly hope I shall be willing to be requited Evill for Good, & to doe Good for Evill after *ye heauenly Command & Patterne*:

7 As to yo^r Innocencie in accusing these yo^r Neighbo^rs & brethren in profession (in so high a forme & degree) before ye World jt js not (as I belieue) ye Court of yo^r owne Consciences nor all ye Courts of Men in ye World can cleare & absolute you: For as God acquitteth whom men condemne: so God condemneth (commonly in this World) whom men acquit: I doubt not but yo^r Conscience may be a bucklar ag^{nst} ye Guilt of a known Lye or any knowne Evill as Abimelechs was ag^{nst} ye defiling of Sarah Yea. & Balams & Sauls & Pilates were: but, y^t (though jt haue some kind of Commendation jn jt) will not excuse y^t willing Ignorance y^t most Consciences are defiled with, nor y^t horrible negligence w^{ch} most Consciences shew in the Search of Gods holy pleasure: I pray you consider your Selfe & reflect impartially vpon yo^r Selfe & Actions in these matters: for

i First you say nothing to those Reasons I

proposed to you in my first paper, as to yo^r false accusing of these yo^r Neighbo^{rs} & brethren for robbing you of Lands & for Routs:

2 However you & W. Harris * Conspire to destroy yo^r brethren for those crimés, yet if all be divulged yt may be produced & proved there was hardly euer in N. Engl: W. Har: his Equall, for monstrous Evills in Land busines & matters of Disorder as to Civill Govm^{nt}: of w^{ch} (yt I know of) he hath giuen no more shew of Repentance than Saul did of his going to ye Witch when his putting of Witches to Death & Consulting with them was all one to him: & all for his owne Ends: just so W. Har: damning all Civill Order & his fuole disorders in this Towne are all one to him (if it suited his Ends) with his Extream crying out for Civjll Order now & Orderly Writings & crying down of Routs & I belieue as to any Loue of Justice or Order jt js all one to him or any Soule who maketh Selfe his God & End, & *Summum bonum* his Chiefe Blessednes It js now aboue 12 years since He forc't me to write a Defeance of Civill Order & Gov^{rnmnt} in answere to his Defiance ag^{nst} jt One Booke

* Knowles, in his life of Williams (p. 299) says "that Mr. Williams so disliked Mr. Harris that he would not write his name at length but abbreviated it thus: W. Har." Staples, in his *Annals of Providence*, p. 126, refers to this statement, and then refers to this instance in this letter where Mr. Williams wrote out the name in full. Another instance occurs in a letter dated August 19, 1669. [Nar. Club, v. 6, p. 332.

I wrote out for y^e Iland & sent jt to y^e 2 Townes on y^e Iland, Newport & Portsmouth: Another I wrote out & Presented jt to y^e 2 Townes on the Main Prouidence & Warwick: of this Booke to y^e Townes on y^e Main W. Harris hath robd vs (euen by a kind of Force) ever since the first Birth of jt: So y^t although my Selfe & others, Yo^r Father in Law & y^e Towne haue importun'd him for a sight of jt, jt could neuer be obtajnd of him: First a great while he said He would answere jt: In later times he said He was not ag^{nst} Civill Gov^{rnmnt} but wicked Gov^{rs}; but to this day both our Townes & my Selfe haue bene Notoriously abused & robd of y^t w^{ch} is you^{rs} & ought to be in your Records:

3 Further since you seeme so fair & jnno-
cent in yo^r owne eye, I pray you to consider
yo^r face impartially (as if it were not yo^{rs} but
mjne or any others) in y^e Glasse of these 2 or
3 particulars:

1 First in all our Towne meetings js jt not
notoriously knowne, y^t you are so far from
being swift to hear & slow to speake (accord-
ing to Gods command vnto vs:) y^t what euer
is propounded or by whomsoeuer, you are (or-
dinarily) y^e first y^t lets fly vpon jt, & betweene
yo^r selfe & some other begins y^e Dispute &
Contentjon; y^t other neigbo^{rs} (though able, an-

cient & Experienced) shall scarce find an Interim, to utter thejr thoughts in ye Case & Busines: Whether this be out of quicknes of yor Fancie, or Weaknes of Judgment: Out of an Itch of Contentjon or Selfe Concejtednes & pride, let yor Selfe & others consider jt: Howeuer I am sure jt js not yr Badge & Character of a Sober & Peaceable Townsman, least of all of an humble & heauenly Christjan.

2 Secondly, How can you be an jnnocent & peaceable Christian, when yor Selfe (aboue others of W. Har: disciples) Continually & Voluntarily thrust in yor selfe amongst yor Aduersaries though you declaime agⁿst thejr Persons, Meetings & Practices & you to them be as wellcome as Water into a Ship or a muskeeto to yr face or bozome, & haue gaind yor Selfe the title of one of W. Harris his Spies & Promoters, (like vnto Cross-Tomlinson Boni-rag) Bpp Lande Instrum^{nts} to hunt after the honest Sectaries yt durst not Subscribe to his Couetuous Ambitjans & Tyrannous Proceedings. If jt be a Dutie for all of your partie thus to crosse & contend with yor Aduersaries why doe they all neglect thejr Dutie? If jt be not a Dutie (but ye contrary in all yt desire to liue a peaceable & quiet Life in all Godlynes & Honestie) how can you wash your Hands amongst yor neigbor^s in ye Bason of Puritje

& Christian Innocencie? It js cleare yt you
beare vp yo^r selfe vpon ye Gentlenes & Pa-
tience of yo^r Aduersaries (you may say Inno-
censie also if you listen to yo^r Conscience) for
they haue not feard ye presence of any of W.
Har: his promoters, nor of W. Har: his Grace
jt Selfe, though no other good can be expected
from thejr Presence but Contentjon Provoca-
tjon: further Alienatjons, & catching hould of
all Advantages, according to W. Har: his
Machivilljan Maxime [All Advantages agⁿst
Aduersaries]

If you came as a Messenger or Peacemaker
from ye other Partie with Messages or Pro-
posalls for Peace & Accommodatjon, & leaue
yo^r Aduersaries alone to consult vpon them &
vpon an Answer, what an Instrum^{nt} & Angel
of Peace might you be betweene them? but as
a I of B [torn] blow vp t [torn] with ye one
Partie by exasperations, & with ye other Partie
by yo^r Tales & Relations, how far js this from
Christianitie, yea from Common Prudence &
Civilitie?

3 Lastly if my case were yors & I were such
a Companion, Councellor & Confoederate with
W. Har: & such a Spies Promoter & Pursivant
for his Couetuous & ambitious ends so taken
notice of & cried out on by ye Barbarjans for
such monstrous Cheating & Stealing of thejr

Courtrey: I know not how to escape y^t Thundebolt Psalm. 50 What hast thou to doe to mentjon my Couen^{nt}? &c When thou seest a Thiefe thou Consentest with him &c

Now I humbly beseech y^e most holy & Eternall God to vouchsafe W. Har: & you & me to see our Wanderings from y^e Paths of Christianitie & Civilitie: & y^t he will graciously discouer who haue torne this Poore Towne & Colony in Pieces, yea & y^e holy Christian name in pieces amongst vs: I humbly beg of him to heale our breaches, & for his Names Sake to Spring vp Some Prouidences of Loue & Peace amongst vs

Yor vnworthy neighbo^r,

R. W.

Providence 24 Aug
1669 (so Calld)

(Written on back of letter.)

For John Whipple
jun^r at his house
in Providence
these

(Part of a Letter from Roger Williams to John Whipple, Jun.,
Aug. 24, 1669.)

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Narriganset 13. 7. 49 (so calld
[September 13, 1649]

Loving friend [torn] Field

Lo: Salutacions to your Selfe & your deare Companion, wishing you Peace here and in ye Heauens: This bearer Wuttax[x or r]okamin formerly hath much troubled me & you & others of late he hath giuen me some rest: At present he Saith he is come on Purpose to me againe & desires me to take away y^t trouble out of his mind which hath So Long beene grieuous to him concerning Notacuncnet* & Your So Long enjoyment of it: In conclusion, although his demands haue bene very much greater formerly: Yet now I haue Prevailed with him to be fully Satisfied with fие fathom of Peag w^{ch} were it much more, if my Case were yours I should for my Quiet & Peaceable & Comfortable enjoyment of Such a Mercy, readily Pay him. I am to Pay you 20^s for

* This was the name of the hill which marked the northwest boundary of the first purchase by Mr. Williams from Canonicus and Miantinomi. In the deed by Mr. Williams to his associates this bound is mentioned, and William Field's name as one of those to whom Mr. Williams deeded the property.

Mr Gould: If you Please to Signifie Your Pleasure & order I will pay it to me: Me-thincks I see a finger of ye most High in this Providence formerly he demanded aboue 25^{ld} as I remember, [torn — perhaps the word is now] will rest with 25^s The which may turne againe, & if this Prouidence be neglected there may not peace be had for many Pounds. He tells me you answere him yt you haue Paid me (he cannot tell how much but he saith a great matter for Notacuncananit: If you are So Perswaded yt shall not kindle any Coales betweene my friends & me I will end the matter my Selfe with him, although I am out vpon your requests in former dealing with this man & others about ye busines about 10^s. If you please to Spare me a line of your mind I shall gladly see it finished while yet I haue breath: At this present through Gods mercy or neighbours are quiet & quietly prepare for their Payment to ye Bay, The God of Mercy & Peace Preserve you allso

Yo: unworthy ROGER WILLIAMS

There be other Pettie Men yt claime some-thing & I wish any yt make reasonable or Probable claime had some small matter, but I know if this man be satisfied None will molest you.

[Printed by permission of the Rhode Island Historical Society.]

Providence 7. 2. 57. (so calld)
(April 7, 1657.)

Lo: friends

You may please to rememb'r yt by an Order
of ye Gen: Court of Commth at Portsmouth in
Octob'r last (a Copie of w^{ch} hath long since
been sent by ye Gen: Recorder to this Towne)
I was appointed to deliuer to euery Towne in
this Colony, a barrell of powder & two barrells
of shot vpon condicion yt each Towne sent in
to me for ye payment of jt ten pound in prag
(at 8 penny) vnder ye Towne Clarks hand within
two months after yt Court.

Now so jt js yt the other 3 Townes haue
taken Order with me for their proportions al-
though (ye whole summe being not paid) some
of ye Townes haue their powder & shot yet in
my hands: Only from this Towne I haue heard
nothing: & therefore I might long since (you
know) by ye Colonies order haue disposed of
this Townes proportion (as I can easily doe jt,
in ye Colony) for ye just advantage of ye Ad-
venturers & the return of thejr monies. Yet I
haue thought fit (for this Townes good if they
please) to make this offer viz: to wajt yet thir-
tie days longer for ye Townes mind after w^{ch}, I

hope (ye Towne neglecting) it shall not be
justly offenciuē, if I other wise endeavo for ye
Returne of ye Adventurers money according to
ye trust reposed in him who endeavo^d ye Com-
mon peace & safety

ROGER WILLIAMS

Providence 11. 3. 61 (so calld)
(May 11, 1661.)

Lo: friends & Neighbors

I pray yet yo^r patience and leave againe to
trouble you with yt troublesome & lamentable
busines of John Clawson his Goods & ye rather
because of yo^r owne Order againe to consider
of it.

The last tyme you were pleased to debate jt:
You seemed satisfied yt John Clawson * in his

* On the back of this letter appears the following note in the handwriting of Theodore Foster:—"this Paper was taken to Newport by T. F. and it was read in Capt Gardner's Packet on Sunday June 27. 1814. The gentlemen then present returning from the General Assembly to Providence,—among whom was present Robert Harris Esq who informed those present that John Clawson was attacked with a broad axe by an indian from behind some Barbary bushes near the place where the Burying place now is in the north end of the town instigated thereto by John Harrington or Herrenden. That Clawson's chest was split open. That Clawson supposing that Harrington had been the cause of the attack imprecated curses upon him and his posterity that they might be marked with split chins and haunted with barbary bushes." John Clawson was one of those known as the Twenty-five acre men; his name appears by his sign-manual, at the bottom of the document on page 36 of this Tract; a further mention appears in R. I. Col. Rec. VI., pp. 330, where an application to the Gen. Assem. was made by Richard Harrutt to have him put under bonds to keep the peace.

so ofte mentjon of his *Maister his Goods* he meant myselfe & no other person

There appeard also before you three Interpretacions of his Word

First y^t he considering his dying conditjon & having no kindred he bequeathed & left his Goods to me. This I tooke to be his meaning in y^e morning & thought y^t jt might please God to bring to his mind how I sought him out (by Natiuies) and cherished him in his lost naked & starving condpcion & y^t I was not only his Master, (& he my house hold servant by y^e yeare) but his school m^r giving him my Dutch Testam^t & spending much time to teach him to reade. This God knowes I tooke to be his meaning vpon serjous consideracion. In y^e afternoon when Elizabeth Hernden vpon his asking againe for me, asked him whether he meant y^t his Master should haue his Goods: her words sound, & others say and mine Eares told me from her own Relatjon y^t she thus understood him as I did.

2 However, she lately deliuered here in Court another meaning to wjt y^t jt was John Clawsons wish y^t I should take his Goods in to my trust, in that case he was in. If y^t were his meaning to wjt y^t I should looke to & take his Goods & order them to his goode in this his Great weaknes I haue not heard of his dis-

posing of them any otherwayes since into y^e
hand of any other

3 A third jnterpretatjon & meaning is giuen
viz: y I should bring him his Goods: This I
conceauue may be a mistake for three Reasons

First jt js far more probable yt lying by y^e
Graues mouth & going into his Coffin (of w^{ch}
he spake) & being put in mind by others to
dispose of his Goods, I say jt js more ratjonall
to thinck he so minded, then to quarrell vpon
Law matters many years before ended.

2 Although jt js possible yt lying so still he
might muse of his & desire yt I might helpe
him to get them out of other mens hands for
him yet he knew yt I had neuer penyworth of
his, but spent much tjme & charges about his
busines & grieved at his Folly & Frowardnes,
and gaue him all possible Helpe & Favour.

3: Ed: Inman, testifies yt he hath heard
John Clawson complaine of other men as
Roger Mawrie Sam: Bennet mr Arnold (to
whom he writ for him) but neuer of myselfe.
All w^{ch} considered I conceauue there js not so
much waight in this last as to waigh down
both of y^e two former Interpretatjons.

ob. It may be said, If when Eliz: Hernden
askd him what he meant by saying his Mr his
Goods, whether he meant yt his Master should
haue his Goods If then he had said but yes,

all had bene Ended: I answere jt js true, but withall, consider jt js not easie for a wounded dying man to speake according as we or as himselfe desireth: We know he spake by fits & could not answere a word to many questions: And in ye morning when he much desir to speake & said, Lift me vp and was lift vp by Ben Hernden & Robt Colwell he could not speake one word: All w^{ch} considered I conceaue yt impartiall Judges will say yt no man can make so fajre a plea to his goods as I haue done & yt therefore I haue just cause to pray ye Towne to grant me letters of Administration & I shall be ye more obliged to wish & endeavor yo^r prosperitie & to be yo^r euer frjend & Servant

ROGER WILLIAMS

[The two following letters are printed from copies found among the Harris Manuscripts. Who made the copies the publisher does not know, nor does he know where the originals now are; he has therefore been obliged to follow the orthography of the copies. Some extracts from one of these letters were printed in Mr. Knowles's Memoir of Williams, p. 108 *et seq.*; but in an entire form the publisher does not know of them.]

To the much honoured assembly of Commissioners, and also the Inquest or Jury, sent from the respective Colonies to Providence,
17th 9th mo. 1677 (so called) (Nov. 17, 1677.)

the answer of Roger Williams, to the Declaration of W Harris, against the town of

Providence, in what particularly, by name the said W H falsely and simply accuseth the said Roger Williams.

1st He chargeth Roger Williams, for taking the land of Providence in his own name, which should have been taken in the name of those that came up with him. 2^d he sold the lands of Providence for more than it cost him. 3^d He promised Pawtuxet for 5£ and took £20. 4th He stired up Providence men to rise simultaneously against Pawtuxet men.

I answer, it pleased the most high to direct my steps into this Bay, by the loving private advice of that very honoured soul Mr John Winthrop the Grandfather, who, though he was carried with the stream for my banishment, yet he personally & tenderly loved me to his last breath. It is not true, that I was employed by any, made covenant with any, was supplied by any, or desired any to come with me into these parts. My souls desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their language, (which I afterwards printed) and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company, yet out of Pity, I gave leave to W Harris, then poor and destitute, to come along in my company, I consented to John Smith, Miller, at Dorchester (banished also) to go with me, and at John Smith's desire, to a

poor young fellow, Francis Wicks, as also to a lad of Richard Watermans*. These are all I remember † But to what could any of these pretend? to be put in the first grant Equal to my self, I promised W^m Harris land and others also, if it pleased God to vouchsafe it me: but, God furnished my self with advantages, which W^m H nor scarce any in New England had. 1st a constant Zealous desire to dive into the native Language, 2^d God was pleased to give me a painful Patient spirit to lodge with them, in their filthy smoke holes, (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue. 3^d I spared no cost, to wards them, and in Gifts to Ousamaquin, yea and to all his, and to Conanicus & his, tokens and presents many years before I, came in person to the Nahiganset, and therefore when I came I was Welcome to Osamaquin and that old prince Conanicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath. 4th I was known to all the Wampanogs & the Maginsiks to be public speaker & at Plymouth & Salem,

* Supposed to be Thos Angell.

† By this account five only came first; but by a letter from Joshua Verin, dated at Salem 21st Nov. 1650 (see records of Town), it appeared there were six, and that Joshua was one. He says, "We six which came first." This is the same who was withheld from the liberty of voting,—the reason assigned was for "resisting the Liberty of Conscience." He moved back to Salem, and was finally allowed his full share.

and therefore with them held as a Sachem. 5th I could debate with them in a great measure in their own Language. 6th I had the favour and countenance of that noble soul Mr Winthrop whom all Indians respected. 7th I mortgaged my house and Land at Salem (with some hundredths) for supplies to go through, and therefore was it a simple business for me to put in one with my self, all that came with me and afterwards, were not engaged, but came and went at pleasure; but I was forced to go through and stay by it.

2^d As to my selling to them Pawtuxet & Providence: It is not true that I was such a fool to sell either of them, especially as W H saith "like an Halter in a Market who gives most," The Truth in the Holy presence of the Lord is this. W^m H Pretending Religion, wearied me with desires, that I should admit him and others into fellowship of my purchase. I yielded and agreed that the place should be for such as were destitute (especially for Conscience Sake) and that each person so admitted should pay 30s. country pay, towards a town stock, and myself have £30 towards my charges, which I have had £28. in broken parcels in 5 years. Pawtuxet I parted with at a small addition to Providence (for then that monstrous bound or business of upstream without Limits,

was not thought of) W^m Harris and the first 12 of Providence were restleſs for Pawtuxet and I parted with it upon the same terms, viz for the supply of the destitute, and I had a loan of them (then dear) when these 12 men (out of pretence of Conscience & my desire of Peace) had gotten the power out of my hands, yet they still yielded to my grand desire of propagating a public Interest, and confessed them selves but as feoffees, for all the many scores, who were rec^d afterwards paid the 30s. not to the purchasors (so called) as proprietors, but as feoffees for a Town stock — and 2^d W^m Field the builder of this house,* and others openly told the new comers that they must not think that they bought and sold the right to all the lands and meadows in common and 100 acres presently, and power of voting and all for 30s. but that it went to a town and public use. As to the simple Charge that I bought cheap and sold dear, W^m Harris Cannot be ignorant that Connanicus (whom he calls in the Declaration the conqueror of all these parts) he was not I say to be stirred with money to sell his Lands to let in foreigners. Tis' true he rec^d presents and gratuities many of me, but it was not Thousand nor Ten Thousands of

(* Then the House of Thomas Field.)

money could have bought of him an English Entrance into the Bay. Thousands could not have bought of him Providence or Pawtuxet or Aquideneck or any other land I had of him. I gave him and his youngest Brothers son Mi-antunoma gifts of two sorts. 1st former presents from Plymouth and Salem 2^d I was here their councellor and secratary in all their wars with Pequots, Munhiggins, Long Hardres, Wampanongs. They had my son, my shallop and Pinnace and hired servant &c at command on all occations. Transporting 50 at a Time & Lodging 50 at a time at my house, I never denied them ought, that Lawfully they desired of me. Connanicus laid me out Grounds for a trading house at Nahiganset* with his own hands, but he never traded with me, but had freely what he desired, goods, money, so that tis simple to imagine, that many hundreds excused me, to the last of that mans breath, who dying sent for me and desired to be buried in my cloth of free gift and so he was. And my Trading house which

* The site of this Trading House is near the present village of Wickford. Its exact location is in dispute. It was near the house of Richard Smith, which is at this time a well-known place. The Indian name of the place was Cawcawmsquassick. As indicative of how much of his time Mr. Williams spent there it is proper to mention that between the years 1645-1651 there are forty-one letters written by him, now preserved. Of these, twenty-eight were written from this Trading House.

Yielded me £100 profit per annum, God knows, that for the public peace sake, I left and Lost it about 20 Years since, when I went last for England. But honoured Gentlemen (bench & Jury) I Beg your patience for a word more. He declares I stired up Providence men against Pawtuxet men. I answer. I have been always blamed for being too mild, and the Truth is Chace Brown a wise and Godly soul (now with God) with my self brought the murmuring after comers, and the first monopolizing 12 to a oneness by arbitration, chosen out of Ourselves, and Pawtuxet was allowed (only for Peace sake) to the first 12, and the 12 gave me a share which I accepted after the arbitration. But as to upstream without limits (in the boundless and monstrous sense it is now urged) it came from the same forge from whence bloody & monstrous Hocest Corpus, this is my body, Muim, cume. Gentlemen when you find Wickedness, it is your duty to terify & use Your sword the sword of God and the King and New England, where you find well doers, as this poor town of Providence, some in it Trodden under the feet of Pride about 40 Years. Commend them, praise them and Relieve them, so will, so will not the judge of the World be a terror to you in the day of your trials, but be a balsom of consola-

tion to Your souls, for which earnestly Cries
to Heaven Your most Unworthy Servant

R WILLIAMS

P. S. If there be any difference between W H & me I humbly offer to end it by arbitration, which I humbly conceive as will be the only medicine for this long and Multiplied disease now before you, and best answer his Majesties and all desires in this businesf, by this means the Country will be inhabited and with joy and speed.

To the much honoured Assembly of the Commissioners from the respective united colonies at Hartford.

Much honoured Sirs.

You know that all the Colonies & all the Kingdoms and all the nations & (consequently) this World are but as a drop in the Bucket of that Eternal Eye whom I humbly hope you only Eye & only seek to please, so many thousand generations are mown down as Grafs: We spring up in Our turn & spedily weither as if we had never seen the Sun: How many galant heavenly souls do I (with great affection) call to mind whose seats you now set in I humbly beg of the father of

Lights and Spirits so to Enlighten and influance your Spirits that you may Exceed your copies and foregoing Presidents. I am requested by my dear friend and neighbour Capt Fenner of Providence, to be your remembrancer — praying your Effectual consideration of his case, It pleased the Most High to stir up the Spirit of the noble Gen^l Winslow & his Army to adventure to pursue the Barbarians in a (New England) Bitter Winter, Capt Fenner had lost his houseing & Cattle, but his Stacks of hay (22) & his fencing &c God Sufferd not the Pagans to destroy. But your Army (against their wills) found it necessary to fodder their Horses and make them selves Lodging with the 22 Stacks and to make them selves fires with all his fencing and with whatever was, about the farm, Combustable Capt Fenner addressed him self to the Gen^{ll}, & Major Treat and others of the honourable Gentlemen who gave hopes of some recruits and sattisfaction, and so have the Gov^r Winslow & your Gov^r Leiverret (to whom I wrote in this matter) declared their sense that it is unchristian & inhuman that any one of the Kings subjects should (after his great losses by the Pagans) bear so great a burden alone to which the whole Country ought to put the Shoulder, Capt Fenner (in hopes of

some relief) hath laid his demand so low Low
that it speaks him wise & Moderate & Sensible
of your Countrys Burthens. A wise man may
be so pinched that he may run mad courses; I
know Capt^t Fenner hath not wanted provocations
to run Whineing to his Majestie that
New England, wrongs him, but, I have diswad-
ed him (as I have done others) and I humbly
hope your Wisdomes will endeavour to shut
that dore, or elce New England, courts & Col-
onies (in reason) must be cologned if not worse.
I end not doubting but you will make his case
your Own & grant him such relievee your-
selves would desire and be contented with.
Honoured Sirs upon this Ocation be gentle
and patient to One word more: the thoughts
of such a Dangerous road through the coun-
try & bloody Assautes Slaughters & Captiv-
itives as Your Manquaiogs & (their Confeder-
ates) our Conquerd Enemies have made I say
y^e thought of it is greivous and so is the
thought of a New War (a desperate remedy)
I will not pturbe your thoughts and Ocations
with a word of controversie Viz what Mr
Glover of Boston published in Old and N
England: (in print) of the Cause of Gods dis-
pleasure against New England, nor what some
of the N English Ministers have published
& alledged (in prints) the cause to be, nor

what (in answer to them both) I have presented to the Colonies. At present thus it pleased Gods Wisdom to bring the Gov^r Andros to York again, the day of his arival he wrote a letter our deputy Gov^r, he sent me a Copy, After the tidings of Europe & Aphrican Ar-giers he concludes [I am glad I find all well here I doubt not of a Settlement and good understanding in these parts] I humbly offer to your wisdoms whether it be not a Season both for Gov^r Andros and Rhode Island to have an Overture from your selves of a League defensive against the Barbarians or a foreign Enemy, *Concordia Parva res creseunt, Discordia dilabuntur magna;* Noble Sirs pafs by my Many Errors, as you desire forgivenefs; I am but a Dead Dog.

R W

Providence 25th of August 1678 (ut vulgo)

(Written on back of letter.)

To the much honrd Presfident
and Comm^{rs} from the respective, United
Colonies, Assembled at Hartford on
Connecticutt River
Prefent

RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL TRACTS

NO. 14.

CHRISTENINGS MAKE NOT CHRISTIANS.

A LOST TRACT.

BY

ROGER WILLIAMS.

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